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Chiriguano SF10
Choroti SK6
Mataco SI7
Tehuelche SH5
Caraja SP9
Tucano SQ10
Guarani SM4
Timbira SO8
Araucaniana SG4
Paez SC15
Canari SD4
Jivaro SD9
Aymara SF5
Ona SH4
Yahgan SH6

/For information on genic locations based on Streng's diagram of co-ordinates of the blood groups of the natives of South America, see: 4: Hill et al., 8818 Warao, Category 116, pp. 107-114./

/320 cont./

C 175 342

interesting: "they make a very big dormitory and, within it, as many small rooms as there are residents, and so small that they do not have room for more persons, and it is enough for them, because they do not have furniture, nor do they have wearing apparel and hence they go about naked." /Translated from the Spanish./ These facts agree on every point with those of the Relaciones geográficas, etc. (Vol. II, Plate CIV) and of Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 259) on the same subject. The Guarani, just like the Tupinamba and other Tupi tribes, lived in maloca, gigantic halls capable of containing more than 150 persons and which often in themselves formed the village. The existence of this type of dwelling among the Chiriguano in the 16th and 17th centuries constitutes new proof for the recent character of their migration. In the 18th century we find them already in possession of the small rectangular house which they still have now and where one single family lives. (See Métraux, ?. p. 51.)

C [114] [113]

C [171]

C [174] [167]

C 114 127 175

novelist Garcilaso which might allow one to suppose that he really knew who the Chiriguano were. As for this conquest by the Inca, it would have been barely an attempt at conquest...

C 114 127 175 648 [101]

Garcilaso confuses the Chiriguano with all the tribes of the eastern slopes of the Andes whom he had vaguely heard mentioned. Let us note that he is the only one to attribute this expedition to the Inca Yupanki, while the other chroniclers, better informed, are satisfied to say that the Inca Yupanki made an expedition against the Antis, probably around Cuzco. Unfortunately the vogue this pleasant writer enjoyed at a time when the history of America was still in limbo bluffs some modern critics into believing him, and they go so far as to prefer one of his unwarranted affirmations to the serious /321/ and precise evidence of chroniclers who get their information at first hand and from reliable sources.

/339 cont./
consumption was limited (1).

1. Father Giannechini (Diccionario Chiriguano-Espagnol, etc., pp. 169-170) gives us very interesting details on this topic. Formerly, says he, tobacco was reserved for magicians and adults. He states that even today where its use is most widespread it is cultivated on only a very small scale. The Chiriguano do not have the patience to let it ripen and dry it over the fire in order to be able to smoke it.

When they were called to a sick person, the medicine men used to put themselves in a trance by smoking ever so much. By this means they discovered the author of the illness and gave him battle.

We shall see farther along (p. 76) the role of tobacco in the magical ceremonies intended to make rain fall.

At harvest time I visited the lands cultivated by the Indians of the Caruruti region in Caipipendi valley. From the end of February to the month of April, the Indians rarely spend the day at home. Most of the time they go to settle down in their fields, leaving the village as soon as the corn begins to ripen, not to return until the /340/ end of the harvest. The house of the absentees is made safe from all foreign intrusion by thorn hedges which they raise all around or only in front of the door. The latter can also be closed by a cot or bedstead, which they put up against it and anchor solidly (Fig. 6). 1/A

This temporary migration of the whole population of a village to the fields sometimes made my job as a collector rather difficult. It /Fig. 7 appears here/ often happened that I found myself in nearly empty villages. The rare Indians who had remained there refused obstinately, and rightly, to sell me the objects which interested me, if they belonged to an absent person.

1/A [Fig 6 appears on P. 69-- Analyst]

/446/

Table for Map 1

Distribution of the basketry technique called "wicker work"

171
285

Numbers on the map	Tribes	Authors	Remarks
1	Chiriguano and Chané		
2	Diaguite	Museo de Tucumán No. 305	Some impressions on the base of a vessel enabled me to discover the existence of this technique in this geographical area.
3	Araucan of Chile	Latcham, p. XXXV (1)	
4	Araucan of Argentina	National Museum of Buenos Aires (Palavecino Collection).	
5	Yurakare	Nordenskiöld, 11, Fig. 30, p. 128.	
6	Atsawaka, Tambopata-Guarayú	Nordenskiöld, 11, p. 198.	
7	Palikur	Nimuendajú, Fig. 23, p. 49.	
8	Siusí and Kauá of the Aiary River	Koch-Grünberg, 2, Vol. II, Fig. 142 a-d, p. 221.	
9	Patamona, Makusi, Arekuna	Roth, p. 140, Pl. 105 B and C.	
10	Arawak	Roth, Pl. 104 B.	

[113]

1. Latcham, R. E., "Ethnology of the Araucanos," in The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. 34, London, 1904, cited from Nordenskiöld, 10, p. 171.

/480 cont./

95 Fig. 16) was present at an analogous treatment also practiced /481/ by a medicine woman on a child at Yumbia, not far from the Salado. She rubbed him and blew on his body (1).

[113] [192]

1. In the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano, etc. (p. 72), we find the word hunga translated "to rub, to massage" and the sentence ʂiyari ʂerungarunga tein, iróí á ʂe with the following meaning: "My grandmother rubbed me enough, but I did not get well." The medicine women, add the authors of the dictionary, use the word hunga to express the act of rubbing with the hand any painful part of the body, especially the chest, without any remedy other than the saliva they spit on their hand. These women attribute a special virtue to saliva.

[827]

755 756 The sick boy's father told me that, once suffering from prolonged headaches, he had had recourse to a sorceress, an old woman with woolly hair, who was called the Samba. She sucked the place where the ache was localized and drew out worms from it. The half-breed got well, of course.

757 [825] In the toldería of Ñawirenda, where there was a child ill with fever, his mother had made him eat crushed garrapatas (ticks). The unfortunate child's lips were purple from it.

756 755 [121] I shall devote a special st[illegible] to Chiriguano medicine men in a future volume of this Review. Meanwhile I shall limit myself to describing, according to the Diccionario Chiriguano-Español y Español-Chiriguano (pp. 166-167), the way in which these powerful personages customarily proceed when they are called to the bedside of a sick person. I am forced to have recourse to the observations made by another for lack of having been able to be present myself at the spectacle which Father Giannechini evokes with as much accuracy as vivacity. The great Chiriguano paye are now all in the Ivoka where they take

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

typical *Inca* designs. At Caipipendi (pl. 41, *top, right*), near Charagua, he found a *Chiriguano* cemetery consisting of large, corrugated urns, identical to modern *Chiriguano* chicha jars, covered with smaller jars. Near the surface was found a vessel with incised decoration which has no resemblance to any modern *Chiriguano* ware. The same site yielded a small pot with thin incisions and two suspension holes.

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SOURCES

Short descriptions of the *Chiriguano* appear in the early literature. Garcilaso de la Vega's picture of *Chiriguano* culture is on the whole quite inaccurate, but for a few details. Díaz de Guzmán (1914), Barco Centenera (1836, 1912), and Lizárraga (1909) speak briefly of *Chiriguano* culture, but the earliest firsthand account of it is Father Chomé's letter (1819 b). Tamajuncosa's report (1910) about the state of the missions at the end of the 18th century is also an interesting document. Weddel (1853), who visited the *Chiriguano* in the middle of the last century, published a few notes about their culture. The best sources are the reports and books written by the Franciscan missionaries, Cardús (1886), Corrado (1884), and especially Campana (1902). Nino's (1912) much-quoted book is based in great part on Campana's monograph.

113 114

Nordenskiöld dedicates several chapters of his "Indianerleben" (1912) and of "Forschungen and Abenteuer" (1924 a) to the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*. His data are accurate though somewhat superficial. Great stress is placed on the economic life and the material culture, but social organization and religion receive only cursory attention. However, the collection of *Chané* and *Chiriguano* myths is fairly large and of great interest. Nordenskiöld made a comparative analysis of *Chiriguano* material culture in one of the volumes of his ethnographical series (Nordenskiöld, 1920). More minute details about *Chiriguano* artifacts may be found in Eric von Rosen's (1924) luxurious publication based on a collection he made among these Indians at the beginning of the century.

Several aspects of *Chiriguano* history and material culture were studied in some detail by the writer (Métraux, 1930 b), who also published new *Chiriguano* myths (1931 a) and two sociological essays (Métraux, 1931 b and 1935).

Several monographs deal with *Chiriguano* pottery, which is today one of the best in South America. (Outes, 1909; Nordenskiöld, 1920; Métraux, 1930 b; Paulotti, 1942.) Recently, Max Schmidt (1938) again published and described *Chiriguano* artifacts and techniques.

Knowledge of *Chiriguano* religious and social life is meager and is limited mainly to Campana's monograph (1902) and to observations made by Nordenskiöld (1912) and the present author (1930 b) at a time when aboriginal *Chiriguano* culture was already decadent. The Paraguayan-Bolivian war accelerated its breakdown and little of it now survives.

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chane SF8

113 The migrations, wars, and the religious conversion of the *Chiriguano* 114 have been the subjects of many historical monographs. The most important of these are by Corrado (1884), Serrano y Sanz (1898), Domínguez (1918), Gandía (1929 a, and b), Métraux (1930 b), Coni (1925), Moreno (1929), and Finot (1939). The Jesuit missionary work among the *Chiriguano* has been described by Lozano (1941) and Muriel (1918).

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

128 As today *Chiriguano* and *Chané* share in the same culture, the following data may apply to both tribes.

241 **Farming.**—The *Chané*, conquered by the *Chiriguano*, were proficient farmers who, though practicing a tropical type of agriculture, were probably acquainted with many of the methods of cultivation of the Andean [177] area. The *Chiriguano* adopted their traditions. The new habitat of the *Chiriguano* did not offer the same resources for hunting and fishing as had their homeland. Therefore, these Indians depend on farming to a larger [243] extent than any other *Tupí-Guaraní tribe*. The basis of their livelihood is maize, of which they have 11 varieties, all related to those of Paraguay. Then follow in order of importance: Pumpkins, beans (11 varieties), sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, peanuts, and some Barbary figs (*Opuntia* [244] sp). Sweet potatoes were grown on a large scale by the *Chané* of the Parapeti River.

These Indians also raise cotton, tobacco, urucú, and, in the Parapeti [177] region, reeds for arrow shafts (*Arundo donax*). Plants of the Old World [137] adopted by the *Chiriguano* include melons, watermelons, oranges, sugarcane, and sorghum.

241 *Chiriguano* men clear the fields and surround them with a tall fence as 825 a protection against the inroads of wild or domesticated animals, a task which is considered to be particularly strenuous. They also till the soil, but at harvest time they are assisted by the women and children. The 243 latter, armed with slings, drive away the parakeets and other birds which 244 prey on the crops. Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 183) observed that among the 462 *Chané* of the Itiyuro region, large maize fields were tended by men while pumpkins and beans were raised by the women.

222 **Collecting wild food.**—When their crops fail, the *Chiriguano* subsist on the same species of pods and fruits as those collected by the Chaco Indians: Algarrobo, tusca, mistol, caraguatá, and other plant foods.

224 **Hunting.**—Hunting is a very secondary economic activity, at least in modern times. Peccaries, which are the main game animal, are hunted with specially trained dogs and killed with bows and arrows or with clubs. 223 Rheas, which are abundant in the Chaco plains, are caught with bolas. Pigeons are captured with clap nets. Special arrows with two points are used for hunting yacu birds (*Penelope* sp.).

2:Métraux E-5 (1929) 1948 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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THE YURACARE, MOSETENE, AND CHIMANE

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Culturally, the *Yuracare*, *Mosetene*, and *Chimane* are closely related (map 1, *No. 3;* map 2). The *Leco* probably belonged to the same cultural area, but information on them is scanty and, therefore, it is presented in a special chapter.

The *Yuracare* (*Conis, Cuchis, Enetes*) territory was defined by D'Orbigny (1839, 1:354–355) as the large zone of Tropical Forest at the foot of the Andes, extending from Santa Cruz in the east to Cochabamba in the west (lat. 16°–17° S., long. 63°–66° W.). In more recent times, *Yuracare* settlements were scattered along the Mamorecillo, Chimoré, Chaparé, Securé, and San Mateo Rivers and their tributaries.

The *Yuracare* were divided into two mutually hostile groups: The *Soloto*, or eastern *Yuracare*, and the *Manziño* to the west, on the slopes of the Andes. The *Oromo*, though exterminated by the *Manziño*, seem to have belonged to the latter nation. The *Soloto* of the Mission of San Carlos were called *Moge* by the inhabitants of Santa Cruz.

The contacts of the *Yuracare* with the Whites go far back in time. On several occasions in the 17th century, they raided the Spanish settlements near Mizque and Cochabamba. The first missionary to visit them was Father Francisco Marcos who, in 1776, founded the Mission of Asunción de Maria Santissima on the Paracti River, between the Coni and Chaparé Rivers. This mission was soon abandoned but was restored for a few years in 1784. The Mission of San José on the Coni River was established in 1795 by Father Tomas Anaya, but was deserted by the Indians in 1805, after it had been shifted to the Mamoré River. The Mission of San Francisco, founded on the Mamoré River in 1793, was also soon abandoned. At the beginning of the 19th century, Father Lacueva tried to restore the Mission of Asunción, but it was in ruins when D'Orbigny passed through it in 1831.

The *Yuracare* language is still regarded as unrelated to any other group.

4: Nino--150 M-3 (1893-1911) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

/109 cont./

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with that of Tarija because the inhabitants of the missions of both colegios were of the same Chiriguano race.

/110/ The illustration placed at the beginning of this chapter /see p. 148/ is one of the said photographs; it shows a group of Chiriguano women with their festive clothing and adornments, who are ready to attend a public gathering for drinking; it was made in the Boicovo Mission and taken with the others to the exposition. The group of Indian day laborers is reserved for the chapter which deals with work and chores; both groups show the physical constitution of the race, about which Señor del Campano, after the exposition was over, wrote his book; perhaps this gentleman also had seen the four Chiriguano who were brought from the Tarija missions (1).

● [113]

1. Notzie intorno ai Ciriguani /Information on the Chiriguano/. Florence, 1902. This is the most complete work that exists in Italy, in view of which I decided to write the present one here where the Chiriguano live.

Physique

14

After having studied the territory that a tribe occupies and consigned to paper what is most characteristic, and, next, having discovered appropriately by means of traditional and historical data or well-founded suppositions the origin and derivation of the tribe, the first thing that is exhibited to the ethnographer and to any observer is the physical body; its proportions, whether large, small, or average, soon strike the eye, the latter, the observer, considers mentally what the former, the physical ethnographer, sees, and begins his narration and then goes on to the character.

/111 cont./
144 114 who conquered Mexico and Peru (1).

[113] 1. Guillermo Robertson. Historia de América desde el descubrimiento hasta antes de la Independencia /History of America from the Discovery to before Independence/. Travelers exaggerate their stories in order to attract more attention.

144 [191] [142] There are extensive areas where mixture of the two races was frequent, but it must be pointed out that in these areas the children of such have ceased to be Chiriguano, both because of the Spanish language, which they now speak perfectly, and the color, which is completely different; it is no longer parchment, as Father Corrado states, but a skin which is up to a certain point fine and velvetlike, so that for this class of persons who descend from white and Chiriguano the appropriate name is mestizo and not Chiriguano, and consequently the physical characteristics of the race have not changed. In these same areas families which have kept pure Chiriguano blood are not rare, and these families, or the individuals which make them up, have the same characteristics as other Chiriguano, without any noteworthy difference (2).

2. From the left bank of the Parapiti River northward this radical change is taking place, making the race disappear.

On the contrary, in the great Chiriguano centers, such as all the missions and a few other areas outside of them, 141 the physique of the native has not changed at all. As a 142 rule their stature does not reach one meter and 70 centimeters in men, and rare are the women who reach 1.60; the hair is black, glossy, and coarse, and very vigorous in

181 /114/ the same as everywhere else, so that certain travelers who say Indians are very bad would be wrong, as would those who call them very good. A celebrated explorer said not long ago that he found more goodness in an Indian than in a white man and that it is enough to notice only with average attention the faces of the two to be sure of the relative morality of both; as a missionary I neither can nor should consign to these pages my judgment in this regard (1).

1. The same explorer approves of the resolute attitude of the Curuyuqui uprising, taking the point of view that they were fighting for their independence and for the recovery of their territory.

186 648 Before the conquest so gently carried out by the Catholic missionaries took place, it was extremely dangerous to enter their territory, even just in passing, and not too long ago it was difficult to pass through the Cuevo-Ibo countryside, where the Franciscan missionaries of Potosí founded their missions, as they had founded those of Tarija in other regions. There was reason for the danger to exist.

The Indian now knew the white man by his deeds; he called him and still does call him caray, that is, astute, greedy, oppressor, and owner of what belongs to other people; if then he looked with misgiving upon the caray and up to a certain point did not wish to have relations with him, it is because this extremely bad image had been formed, from which arose the idea of not wanting to have a bad neighbor in his territory, and he blocked his way in order that he might not come to like the fertility of the area. He was wise to the fact that after exploration comes reconnaissance, and from this rises the desire to possess, which sooner or later is put into execution, as has been the case (2).

● [113]

2. Giannecchini. Expedición al Alto Paraguay, año 1883.

/114 cont./

648 721 Once the conquest had been completed through the work of the missionaries and through colonization by the inhabitants of several departments, the Chiriguano had to submit to the rights of the stronger; on several occasions he tried to raise his head by means of general uprisings, such as the one of 1875 and the one of 1892 in Curuyuqui de Cuevo-Ibo, but they succumbed because of the difference in arms and because the whites were well situated (3).

[113]

3. Martarelli. Addition to the Historia de Misiones del Colegio de Potosí, which deals with the Curuyuqui war and the beginnings of the founding of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission.

648 178 /115/ A new uprising seems unlikely today because they are few and because the territory is populated by whites who have taken over the territory by right of conquest and through purchase made before the Supreme Government, but the Indians have not resigned themselves to permanent servitude, having once been lords of their house and land; their pride has been put down by superior forces, and most of them endure their fate with resignation.

To be sure, it is a fact that the Chiriguano of today is not the Chiriguano of other times; he is not the one who fought so tenaciously against the soldier of the Inca army, against the Spaniard, and against the Bolivian soldier himself. This change has taken place, I shall say once more, through the loss of territory and his independence, and in repeated struggles of extraordinary tenacity, which only resulted in aggravating a bad situation, and in the loss of their most beloved people and of their lands. For better or for worse they have had to submit to the laws of the Government of the Republic, which still exercises supreme authority over them, in the missions, where it is embodied in the conversores, in the provinces in the person of the subprefects, and in the cantons in that of the corregidors, who generally make use of the cacique or the alcalde to

S: Nordenskiöld

SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

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/Bibliographical maps 1-6 appearing on pp. 239-244 of this source (see category 116), show the general areas of ethnographic coverage by the various authors listed in the bibliography during specific time periods. A further explanation of these maps will be found on pp. 237-238./

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Chang SP9
South American Indians S7

Notes on the Bibliographical maps.

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To this bibliography several maps have been added which ought to prove useful from many points of view. *The maps indicate the territories concerning which the authors quoted in parts 1 and 2 made their investigations.*

The first map shows the literature from 1498—1600, the second from 1600—1700, the third from 1700—1800, the fourth from 1800—1900 and the fifth from 1900—1920. We find a separate map of the archæological literature. Several important works are unfortunately missing which I have not been able to study. It is difficult and expensive work to collect the literature on the S. American Indians. Not the least difficult of access are certain works printed in S. America during the 19th century. For my ethno-geographical studies I have of course read a number of books without finding anything to quote from them and consequently they are not mentioned here. I desired especially to show the merits and demerits of the maps of the distribution of the cultural elements here published. The maps of the authors' names show us the districts from which I have no material at all and those from which I only have the material of older authors, or only of modern writers.

Some authors have not travelled in the territories they have written about, but have drawn from the works of several other authors. The most remarkable existant work of this kind is Crocker's excellent work on all that has been written about the Indian tribes in southernmost S. America. If there were many such compilations, it would not be difficult to draw up maps of the distribution of the various cultural elements.

From the map that indicates about which districts the archæological treatises are written, we can see, even though

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some names are missing, what immense territories in S. America are still entirely unexplored archeologically.

The bibliography includes some authors whose names will not be found in the maps, i. e. Ferdinand and Pierre Ternaux, great on their services to the ethnography of S. America have been. This is because they have written comprehensive works dealing with the ethnography of the whole continent, and not with any particular part of it.

When I have quoted from several works by the same author, these are numbered 1, 2, 3, etc. in the bibliography. The same work has the same number in the First and Second Parts of my own book.

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8:Nordenskiöld E-5,¼(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
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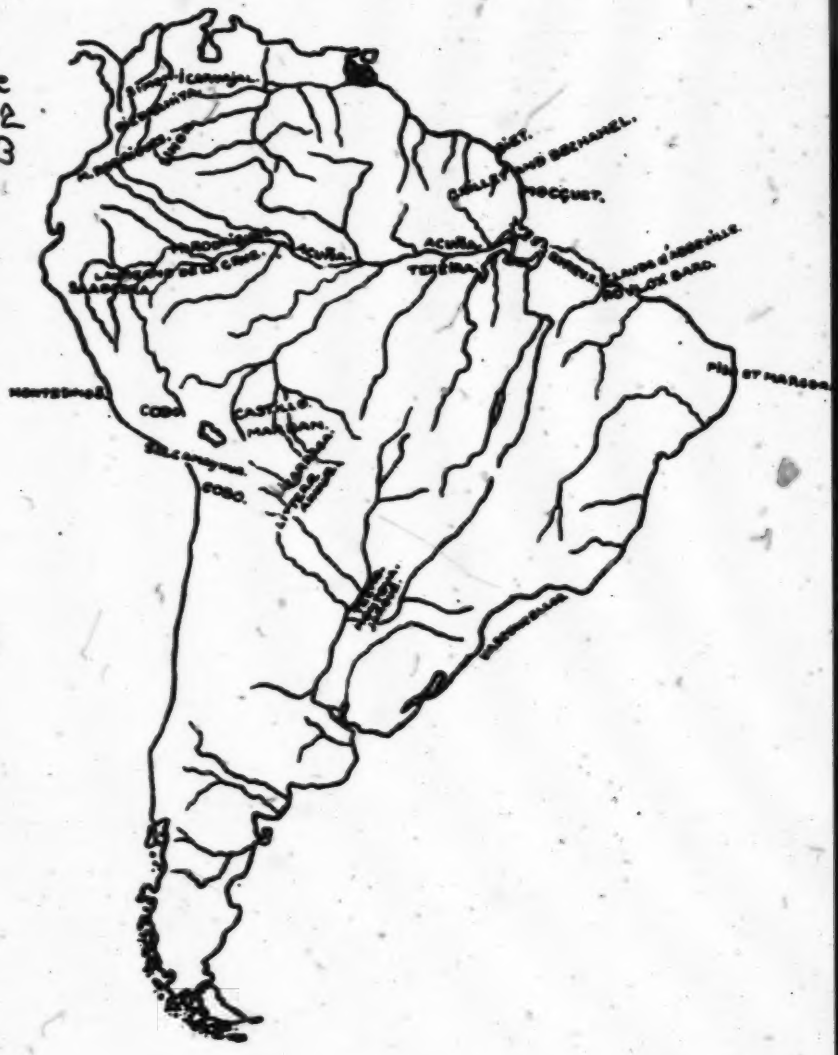

Bibliographical map 2. 1600—1700.

S:Nordenskiöld E-8,4(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
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Chane SF8
South American Indians S3

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Bibliographical map 3. 1700—1800.

5:Nordenskiöld E-5,¥(1908-1909, 1913) 1920
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Chaco SF8
South American Indians S3

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Bibliographical map 4. 1800—1900.

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Chane SF8
South American Indians 53

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Bibliographical map 5. 1900—1920.

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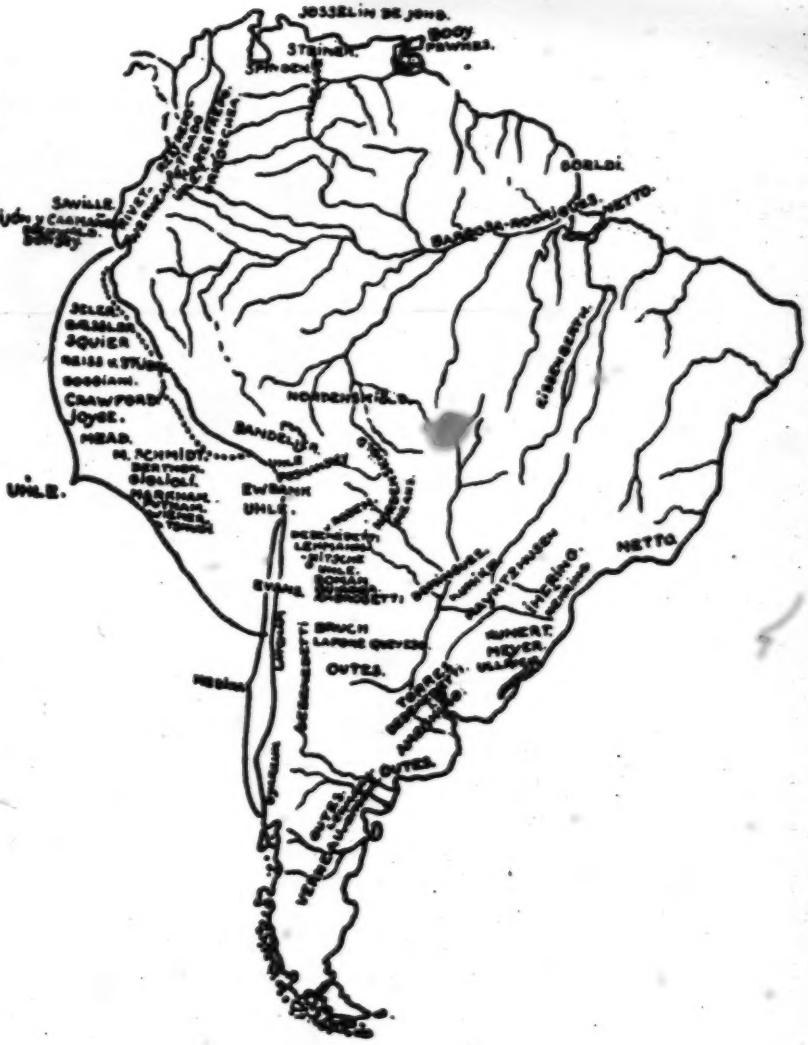

Bibliographical map 6. Archæological literature.

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In the wilderness of the Chaco there still lives a Chiriguano chief, Cayûhuari, in whose village no white man has been. It is said to lie on a big lake. Large herds of horses and cows graze there, and the maize granaries are always full. The Indians are rich there, because no whites are there. At least so it is said.

Cayuhuari, who has lived in the Chaco since the uprising in 1890, has an abducted white woman as a daughter-in-law. It is said that, with the Toba, he visited the sugar factories of northern Argentina. He had his daughter-in-law with him. The owners of the factory offered to rescue her from the Indians. "I do not want to leave them," she said. "With them I have my children." This answer honors her.

The manners and customs of the Chiriguano Indians have been described by several authors (4), mostly missionaries, /162/

4. We find most of the literature cited by Domenico del Campana: "Notizie," etc., loc. cit. /"Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani (Notes on the Chiriguano)," Arch. per L'Anthr. e la Etn. Firenze, 1902. Page 61./

so that we know more about them than about the Choroti and the Ashluslay.

A part of what I have reported about these Indians is not new, though seen in a new light. Nevertheless, various things, especially concerning religion, differ from the descriptions of the various missionaries. What I have gathered here is from the Chané, and the missionaries know the Chiriguano best.

What I do not like in the various descriptions of the Indians by the missionaries is that they seem to be striving to paint their shortcomings in colors that are all too faint, so that their own "civilizing work" may seem as important as possible. The missionaries seem to me to be unable to describe the religion of the Indians objectively.

/167 cont./

is a village called Tapiirenda. The valley is now inhabited exclusively by Chiriguano, and none of them remembers that, as the name of the place indicates, Tapii (Chané) lived there.

The place names of the Indians of higher standing are retained by the whites, even if they have become the masters of the country. Thus, almost all the places inhabited by them in Chiriguano territory have Guarani names, such as Charagua (name of the cliffs peculiarly carved out by the water), Carandaiti (where palms grow). The place names of the lower tribes, on the other hand, are not kept by the whites. Thus, no white knows the Mataco or Choroti names of the various places on the Rio Pilcomayo. The settlements of the whites are named after saints, Bolivian statesman, and explorers. If a tribe, for example, the Choroti, becomes extinct, there is nothing left of its language in the place names. Investigators of place names should not overlook this.

Through association with the whites, the geographical knowledge of the Indians has been extended considerably. They go farther and farther away to seek work, and they see countries which they had never heard of before.

The Indian as Historian

If we wanted to write the history of the Choroti and Ashluslay, we could not go back very far in time. It is only in the last decades that we see them mentioned more specifically in the literature. On the other hand, we already know about the Chiriguano, from their battles with the great ruler, Inca Yupanqui, from the period before the discovery of America. Garcilasso de la Vega (1) reports on his attempts

1. Garcilasso de la Vega: The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas. Vol. I-II. Hakluyt Society. London, 1869 and 1871.

/173 cont./

Under the influence of the whites, however, the Chané and Chiriguano are gradually changing their huts, and many Indians are already building huts that are identical with theirs.

No hut here has its original Indian form. The genuine Chiriguano huts (the original Chané huts are not known) were very large; up to 100 persons lived in one house, and the entire /174/ village consisted of only a few large huts (1). These

1. Annua de la Compañia de Jesus. -- Tucuman y Perú -- 1596. Relaciones geográficas de Indias. Madrid, 1885. Vol. II. Page CIV.

evidently correspond to the large family houses well known in Brazil, which I saw in Bolivia only among the Chacobo, a Pano tribe from Lago Rojo-Aguado.

Even in Viedma's (2) time, at the end of the eighteenth

2. Viedma: loc. cit.

century, /Fig. 83 appears here/ however, they seem to have given up the original type of house and built smaller huts.

In many villages there belongs to each hut one or more maize granaries (Fig. 84a), in which maize, gourds, etc. are /175/ stored. These granaries are built on piles and are perhaps a reminder of the time when the Chiriguano and Chané lived in swampy regions. To each granary there belongs, as a rule, a ladder (Fig. 84b). Sometimes the granaries and the dwellings are built together into one house. /Fig. 84a appears here./ I saw such huts in the vicinity of Machareti and at Yatavéri, not far from Ivu. Not infrequently the granaries stand in the fields, far from the dwellings.

These villages are neat and clean. Huts and market place are swept daily and the refuse is burned.

The space in the huts is not too cramped. /176/ In each house, as a rule, there lives only one family, which, aside from the rest of the family members, sometimes consists of the husbands

/190 cont./

Games

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Sometimes one sees the men playing. The most common game is now taba, which is played with the ankle bone of a cow and which these Indians learned in the sugar factories. Dice games, too, are not uncommon there. The rules for these seem to be their own, or rather seem to be copied from the whites.

"Daro," as the Chiriguano call the dice game after the Spanish, is played by two persons with /191/ dice made by them themselves. In Tihuĭpa I noted down the following rules for this game (Fig. 93).

All other combinations are = 0. The first one to have ten strokes wins. The strokes are marked on the floor.

As for their own games of chance, they have two. The first is the same as the one we became acquainted with on page 73 /untranslated/ in connection with the Choroti and Ashluslay. The Chiriguano call this game "chúcarây," the Chané "chunquânti" (1).

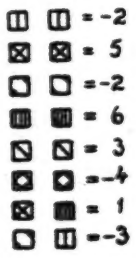

Fig. 93. Rule for the game of "daro." Chiriguano. Tihuĭpa.

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1. Cf. Erland Nordenskiöld: Zeitschr. f. Ethn., 1910, Nos. 3 and 4.

The other game known to the Chiriguano and Chané I did not see among any other Indians. They call it tsúcareta and play it with a pile of little sticks which are convex on one side and flat or concave on the other (Fig. 95).

First a stick (mâma) is placed in such a way that it points to the one who is supposed to throw (Fig. 96). Let us assume that it is placed so that the convex side is up. If two or more sticks fall on one another crosswise with the convex side up and without being touched on the upper side by a stick with the flat side up, they go to the thrower. If the mâma had been placed so that the flat side was up, only those which formed a cross with the flat side up would have counted.

6: Nordenskiöld--59 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8

Chapter Twelve

On the Life of the Chané and Chiriguano Indians (Continuation)

From the Womb to the Grave

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The Chané and Chiriguano women work hard even during pregnancy, until they are to give birth. In Vocapoy's village there was a pregnant woman to whom I gave a pigeon that I shot. Vocapoy thereupon told me in great excitement that a pregnant woman must not eat pigeons. When a Chané or Chiriguano child comes into the world, it undoubtedly does not cause its mother much pain. These women are healthy and give birth easily, as do all Indian women who lead a healthy life and have never worn tight-fitting clothing. They also do not lie in childbed; instead, that must be done by the papa of the little one. Here, too, we come across this strange custom, the "couvade," which is known from so many Indian tribes. The husband is supposed to lie down for several days and observe a diet. Among the Chané on the Rio Parapiti he is permitted to eat only cooked maize and maize soup during the first few days, and later sweet potatoes as well. For several days he may not eat meat. For example, if he eats the meat of a goat, he will die, bleating as it does. The Chiriguano Indian Taco told me that he got his fat stomach because he did not observe this important custom. "I should have lain for five days and stayed on a diet," he said.

The custom of the couvade, as is well known, is very widespread in South America. Among the tribes with whom I am familiar it definitely occurs, aside from the /207/ Chiriguano and Chané, among the Choroti, Gűarayű, and Chacobo. K. v.d. Steinen (1), who describes this custom in detail from the Rio Xingu,

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1. Karl v. d. Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/. Berlin, 1894.

Ce 551 /208 cont./ untranslatable. Not infrequently a nickname is added to this name. Thus, for example, the Chané chief Boyra (Boy-snake) was called yúruhuasu, which means big-mouth. Indeed, old Boyra was a talker who had a great weakness for everything that was a bit indecent.

Ee 862 163 Mothers nurse for an unusually long time, and it is several years, as a rule, before they have another child. Perhaps the E 847 woman also aborts the fruit of her womb occasionally, like the Choroti woman, so that the family will not become too burdened.

E 163 In the mission station in Ivu I tried to gather statistics about the number of surviving children in 127 Chiriguano marriages and found that in ten marriages there were no children, in 27 one, in 35 two, in 29 three, in 13 four, in 9 five, and in 4 six. These figures, however, are quite uncertain. Nevertheless they show that here, as among many other Indian tribes, there is a sort of two-children system.

C 847 114 Corrado (2) maintains with certainty that infanticide occurs

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2. Corrado: El Colegio Franciscano De Traija y sus misiones. Quaracci, 1884. Pages 526-527.

among the Chiriguano. It is done in desperate cases among us, too, and therefore the example cited by Corrado means nothing. C 847 The question is: does /209/ infanticide and abortion occur as an institution accepted by the tribe, as among the Choroti? /Fig. 110 appears here./

C Ce 868 857 The Chané and Chiriguano children, as has been mentioned, are brought up in freedom. They spend their childhood playing. Gradually the child begins to help its parents in small matters, for example, in carrying water and wood, tying up /210/ the domestic animals, fishing, etc. The girls learn spinning, weaving, making clay vessels, brewing maize beer, etc. from their mothers. They learn everything by imitation. The boys pursue small birds around the village and in this way learn the use of weapons. The children accompany their parents to fish and to till. The boy

/210 cont./

When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short, and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again. Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize and meal. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."

In a Chané village, Aguaráti, I saw a girl who was sitting in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet, which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and closet had disappeared.

P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has bitten the girl.

When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is marriageable.

1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, p. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

/211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this. A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.

For one day the father may not consume anything, so that the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians do not like prattlers.

When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig. 79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta.

/211 cont./

Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta. The Chiriguano chief Maringay, who still respects old customs, has the lower lip of all boys pierced. Maringay is one of the old ones who say contemptuously: The "ava," the man, who does not wear a tembeta looks like a "cuña" (woman). To call men the insulting word "woman" is to insult them in Chiriguano fashion. The ones who are "ava" say of the Chané, who have small tembetas, "cuñareta" (women).

Nowadays most of the tembetas are made out of tin and pieces of glass by the whites in mountainous regions. Among those who have made them is the Italian Pablo Piotti. His work has even managed to get into European museums, without ever having lodged in an Indian chin. In former times the Chiriguano also had tembetas made of transparent resin (1).

1. P. Chomé: Lettres édifiantes. Vol. XXIV, p. 317.

If the Chané or Chiriguano boy wishes to marry, he sends the parents of the girl all kinds of hunting booty. Vocapoy /212/ told me that he places wood in front of their houses. If the wood is used, it means consent, if he finds the wood untouched, he is rejected. If he has been successful with the wood, he asks the mother of the girl for her. She then answers that she cannot know whether he will be a good husband who can provide food for his wife. In order to demonstrate this, he must serve his future mother-in-law for about a year. Thus, marriage is a sort of purchase.

The Chané and Chiriguano men go courting nowadays in the same way that they did 200 years ago (1).

1. P. Chomé, op. cit., 319.

The night before the wedding, the young man sleeps with his girl. The wedding is celebrated with a drinking bout, with no other ceremonies than much drinking of maize beer. The newlyweds receive good wishes. As a rule, the young people go on living for a while in the house of the mother-in-law.

Ee 834 171

/221 cont./

K. v. d. Steinen (1) and Koch-Grünberg (2) have pointed

1. K. v. d. Steinen: op. cit., p. 25.

Ce Ce [113]

2. Koch-Grünberg: op. cit., Vol. I, p. 133 /Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern (Two Years among the Indians), Berlin, 1909/.

out that even the women among the Indians on the Xingu and Rio Negro speak of sexual parts quite openly, as of something natural. The same is true among the Indians with whom I became acquainted. When I inquired about words touching on the most intimate things, even the women, indeed, the young girls, answered in the most natural manner.

Ee [124]

C Ce 195 834 838

There are words, however, which are prohibited. Such words among the Choroti are "ametché," which is an abusive word, "ictivähi," which designates homosexual intercourse, "huéle," which means onanism, and "tévi" among the Chané /222/ and Chiriguano, which has the same meaning as ictivähi. Here, too, the unnatural in sexual life is so shameful that it is not proper to speak of it.

C 834 838

There are also Indians who never want to speak about such things. This was true, for example, of a Chiriguano whom I had with me on my first trip on the Rio Parapiti. He even pretended that he had never heard such things mentioned. When

C [124]

I asked him about homosexuality among his countrymen, he feigned stupidity and said more or less: "Is that what the whites do?"

Ce 538 831 [551] Ce [115] C [538] [831]

Among the Indians, as among ourselves, there are nevertheless some who take pleasure in telling obscene stories. Such a one was the old Chané Bóyra, he who had the abusive name yúruhuasu, big-mouth. The more disagreeable the things he related, the more old Bóyra enjoyed himself. Sometimes he told such things that even my friend Batirayu, who used to interpret, was quite embarrassed. The old Chiriguano Yambási was also one who could tell all kinds of obscene stories.

Ee 838 171 c Ce [113]

/224 cont./

According to Westermarck (2), homosexuality is very

2. Westermarck: Ursprung und Entwickelung der Moralbegriffe /Origin and Development of Ideas of Morality/. Vol. II. Leipzig, 1909.

widespread among the Indians of America. The conception that this is a disgrace is by no means as marked everywhere as it is among the Indians mentioned here.

Ee Ce 839 171 c Ce 833 171 [839]

/225/ Among the Chané and Chiriguano I did not hear anything about onanism. Among the Choroti, on the other hand, it is said to be practiced by the men who are ignored by the women at a dance.

Perversions in the relationship between men and women, which were common in ancient Peru, do not seem to occur here. The primitive mammal position in coitus is said to be common among the Chaco tribes.

M 832 824 Ea 825 773 839

Mataco gave me a root which they used as an aphrodisiac.

The relationship between human beings and animals is so intimately intertwined in the legends of the Indians that one cannot always determine whether they mean the one or the other. The legends that describe love affairs between human beings and animals are not descriptions of bestiality, which seems to be unknown among these Indians.

Ee 834 171 Ee [126]

The sense of modesty has developed very differently among these peoples. It seems to me to depend very much on the mode of dress. None of these Indian men or women of whom I have spoken here regards it as improper, insofar as they have not been completely corrupted or civilized, to expose the upper part of the body. The Chiriguano and Chané women are much more ashamed than the Choroti and Ashluslay when they expose the sexual parts. The latter were very reluctant to undress completely in order to be photographed. I did not even dare propose such a thing to the former.

/243 cont./ (Fig. 130) is typically Peruvian in form, as is the silver hair remover, of which, however, I have no specimen. The festive costume of the man (Fig. 81) also seems to me to have a Peruvian cut. It is possible, however, that the influence of Peru did not manifest itself among the Chiriguano until after the conquest of the plateau by the Spanish.

Boman (1) has proved that the Chiriguano, or more correctly the Gûarani tribe to which these Indians belong, formerly extended much farther south than they do now. He found there the grave urns so characteristic of them.

1. Boman: Antiquités de la Région Andine. Vols. 1-2. Paris, 1908.

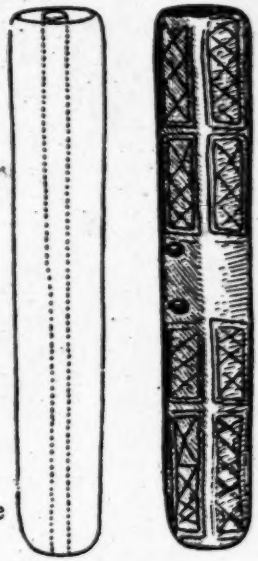

Fig. 120. Serére pipe. Chiriguano. 1/4.

The material culture of the Chané Indians does not, in general, differ very much from the culture of the Chiriguano. The Chané, on the other hand, who are more isolated on the Rio Parapiti, have a completely independent pottery which we do not find again among the Chiriguano. If we compare the remaining products of Chané and Chiriguano industry, we do not find any greater differences than we find in the various Chiriguano villages themselves.

For example, if one collects clay vessels in the Iguembe valley and in the Caipipendi valley, both of which valleys are occupied by Chiriguano, one inevitably finds that the pottery, though strongly related in ornamentation and form, nevertheless /244/ also varies locally. I have already spoken of the individual variations (p. 85).

Ee /255 cont./
539
[113] 2. Im Thurn: Among the Indians of Guyana.
London, 1883, op. cit., p. 375.

Ee Ehrenreich says that such an anthropomorphic conception of the
[171] sun, as here in the first legend, is unusual in South America.

Ce Visits in Aguararenta (the Village of the Foxes).

539 Batirayu told me the following about the beliefs of the Chané
775 Indians with regard to life in the world beyond and in the realm of the dead. Aguararenta (aguara = fox, tenta = village) is a village where the dead, aña, live. It lies in the east. At night the dead there have human form; during the day they go about as foxes, rats, and other animals, or they go into a tree trunk. Every night there are great drinking bouts in Aguararenta. All the Chané, children, women, and men, go there. Bewitchers (ipáyepótchi) and murderers also go to this village. No one is
Ce punished in the Chané realm of the dead.
[787] The living have also visited Aguararenta and have told what they saw there. I shall give a couple of these stories here. They give us a good insight into the Indians' conceptions about the realm beyond.

The Girl Who Followed Her Husband to Aguararenta.

Ce
[115] Told by a Chané Indian in Aguarati (white fox) on the Rio Parapiti.

A girl wanted to marry a man, but he died. She had been very fond of him. In the morning, /256/ on the day after his death, while it was still dark, she was standing in front of the house of her parents and was pounding in the mortar. Then somebody came and seized the pestle.

"Who are you?" she asked.

"It is I," he said. It was her dead husband. "Do you want to come along?"

6: Nordenskiöld--128 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF1
Chane SF8

Ee 539 171

/277 cont./

Part of this legend reminds one very much of a legend from the Yuracáre Indians given by D'Orbigny (1). There "Tiri," who,

Ee [113]

1. D'Orbigny. Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale /Journey in South America/. Vol. 3, 1. Paris, 1834, p. 212.

in order to avenge his mother, kills all the felines except the jaguar with the four eyes, who takes refuge with the moon, corresponds to Tatutunpa. In former times the Chiriguano and Chané were undoubtedly in touch with the Yuracáre Indians. When the whites conquered the land around Santa Cruz de la Sierra, the Chiriguano moved south and the Yuracáre to the north. On my last journey I also visited the Yuracáre Indians, whom I shall describe later in another book.

Ee 174 179

Ce 539

The Man Who Married the Daughter of the Thunder God, Chiqueritunpa.

Ce [115]

Told by the Chané Chief Bóyra.

In olden times there were once three poor men who had no relatives. They were very hungry. Two of them went forth to look for something to eat. First they came into a large forest through which went a path. /278/ After three days they came to a great plain. In the middle of the plain there was a house. They walked around the house, but found no entrance. Finally, however, a woman came out; it was Chiquéritunpa's sister. She bade them come in. "We are dirty," they said and did not want to go in. She brought maize beer to one of them. He drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. She brought the other one maize beer. He, too, drained four calabash bowls of maize beer. "Go now and bathe," she said, "and wash your heads." She gave them the root of the "yúag" (1).

Ce [139]

1. = mistol /Zizyphus mistol Griseb./.

/292 cont./

539 came to the edge of the village and played his most beautiful airs, but the girl did not want to go with one who had such a little hut.

When the Tick, Yaŕu, Ran a Race with the Ostrich, Tikoŕo.

The tick and the ostrich wanted to put on a race to see who could run better. When they started running, the tick hopped on the ostrich and dug itself into the corner of its eye.

When the ostrich had run a short distance, it glanced sideways to see whether the tick was coming along. Since it was in the corner of its eye, it saw it at one side.

/293/ The ostrich hurried on. When it had run a stretch, it again glanced to one side and saw that the tick was still at its side.

The ostrich ran with might and main. When it was quite close to the goal, the tick hopped out of the corner of its eye and arrived there first.

The tick had won the race.

539 171 These little animal stories have a very widespread distribution. Thus, we find the story of the turtle and the jaguar almost unchanged in Santarem, at the confluence of the Rio Tapajo and the Amazon River (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Fredr. Hartt: Tortoise Myths. Rio de Janeiro, 1875.

Similar stories about foot races are also known from the coast of Brazil (1) /see footnote 1 above/. These last are found among us too, as is well known.

It has been proved (2), as was mentioned, that certain

2. Ehrenreich, loc. cit.

legends from North America and Asia have traveled as far as

G. Nordenskiöld--150 E-6 (1869-1909) 1911 0710 Chiriguano SF
Chané SF

C

/XXX cont./
698 Bolivia, where they were sold as laborers. Under the guard of
466 armed men, they were brought down the Río Iaicuará by way
of Quatro-Ojos.

I shall have a better opportunity, however, to discuss the relations of the Indians to the rubber industry in the book in which I shall report on the studies which I made in the rubber regions themselves and among the Indians located near there (1).

E
643

1. Appeared in Swedish under the title Indianer och hvita i nordöstra Bolivia, Stockholm, 1911.

I shall therefore not go into this question in greater detail here.

E.
648
466
465

Compulsory Service for the Whites

The Chiriguano and Chané who work as servants in their own country for the immigrant white race are extraordinarily poorly paid. This is especially true in the rubber regions where the higher prices for labor in the Argentine sugar factories, as the result of competition, have not been able to exert an wages. The Chané on the Río Parapití, for example, are seldom paid more than 30 centavos (not quite 35 pfennigs) per day with board. The women earn about half as much. The Indians are paid their wages partly in spirits and sugar, partly in cloth and tools. The cloth is so poor that a shirt made from such material does not last much longer than the time required to earn it. As a result of this system, the Chané and Chiriguano, like their fellow-tribesmen in the rubber regions in northwestern Bolivia, sink into debt slavery.

/XXX/ It is to be hoped that the large projects initiated by the engineer Hermann in San Francisco on the Río Pilcomayo will improve the Indian wage situation generally. If he will pay better than others, all the Indians will come to him, and the other employers will have to increase their wages.

[I 98]

CHAPTER VII.

The Chiriguano (I).

Ethnographical research among the Chiriguano. The Chiriguano country. The tribal name. Physical 8-00
appearance. Dwellings. Fire-hearth groups. Theories as to the origin of the practice of covering buildings
on piles. Fireplaces. Household furniture. Drum. Modes of dressing the hair. Face-painting. Ornaments.

During our journey from Tarija to Gran Chaco we came into touch with 114
the Chiriguano Indians, and on the march, as well as during our stay in
the Chaco-Andean border region, I was successful in getting together a
small but valuable ethnographical collection from these Indians. It is in
connection with the publishing of the most important type specimens of
this collection that I consider it suitable to give a brief description of the
Chiriguano mode of living. Only in one or two cases, where I have arrived
at results diverging from those of other students, have I found it necessary
to enter into fuller details.

Mention of the Chiriguano tribe has, already in the 15th and 16th cen- 113 ●
turies, been made by a number of writers, and it is especially in Franciscan 114
mission literature, earlier as well as later, that much valuable information
may be found as regards this tribe.[1] Among the literature on the
Chiriguano that had been produced prior to our journey, it may be that
the books written by Corrado[2] and Serrano[3] are those that best repay
perusal, and of works subsequently published, those by del Campana[4],
Lehmann-Nitsche[5], Ostos[6], Nino[7] and Nordenskiöld[8] are especially valuable.

[1] A very full list of works dealing with the Chiriguano is to be found in Nordenskiöld (11) and (14).
[2] Corrado (1).
[3] Serrano y Sanz (1).
[4] del Campana (1).
[5] Lehmann-Nitsche (1).
[6] Ostos (1).
[7] Nino (1).
[8] Nordenskiöld (11), (13), (14) and (14).

7:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

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Ce 101 or Tapyi /Tapii/, it was not possible from what they said to ascertain with which of the tribes known to ethnology they can be identified. The Chiriguano call themselves "Mbya." C [101] If the Izozó were a part of them, they would have called themCe 101 17 selves by this name. No doubt they are Chané and that part of the latter which once had their homes in the Izozó River region, taking the name of this river for their own. Their culture, as demonstrated by the objects I collected among them, confirms this opinion. There are some differences between the objects collected among the Izozó and the Chiriguano in Machareti, either with regard to the decorations of the baked clay vessels or with regard to the making of the nets. But in principle it is not possible to decide whether these differences might not be only local differences. In general the culture of C 171 the Chiriguano was diffused in this way throughout the tribes 172 successively subjugated by them, which is why it is proper to 128 deal below with the aspects of the culture of the Chiriguano 648 of Machareti together with that of the Izozó.

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Influences on the Culture of the Chiriguano and Izozó, Taken from Historical Data

C Ce [197] At the present time the Chiriguano and Chané form a cultural entity which can be designated as the culture of the Chiriguano, because the Guaraní language of the Chiriguano came to be the common language of the whole group. The Izozó also belong to this ethnic entity. Thus it is necessary to consider this entity /4/ as being formed of completely different tribes. It is also necessary to conceive of their culture as the product of the fusion of very heterogeneous cultural elements. Nordenskiöld deals with this question in one of his books (1)

C Ce [113]

1. Erland Nordenskiöld: The changes in the material culture of two Indian tribes under the influence of new surroundings. Comparative Ethnological Studies, 2. Göteborg, 1920. Cited in the following: Nord. 2.

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they definitively lost their independence, being left subject to the whites (17). /8/ From this time also the Chané freed

17. Moreno II, pp. 253 and 254.

themselves from the oppression of their old masters, forming their own separate towns in the midst of their former masters (18).

18. Father Alejandro Corrado in the year 1883. In Moreno II, p. 254.

In addition, the final insurrection of the Chiriguano in the year 1890 was put down by the Bolivians; and for that reason the situation of the Chané was not modified, and so it is that the explorer Erland v. Nordenskiöld found them still under the same conditions (19).

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19. Erland Nordenskiöld: Indianerleben. El Gran Chaco (Südamerika /Indian Life. The Gran Chaco (South America)/. Leipzig, 1912, pp. 148 ff. Cited in what follows: Nord 1.

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Having described above the history of Chiriguano relations with the ancient Peruvians and the other Indian tribes, we have yet to deal also with their relations with the whites, that is, with the Spaniards or Bolivians, who little by little occupied their territory. We must stress in the first place the fact that the first whites who came to their territory and to the adjacent llanos were not any novelty to them, since even before their emigration the Chiriguano had met these people in their native land between the upper Paraná River and the Paraguay. Because of the initial attitude of the Guaraní on meeting the conquistadors, it is evident that both parties had the same aim, that of getting rich from the wealth of the rich lands of the west, of which they had heard. In order to attain

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/10 cont./ through the influence of the missions and through both violent and peaceful means of the Spaniards and, later, by the Bolivians, conterminous with the Chiriguano, little by little most of the Chiriguano came over to their side, so that the power of the Chiriguano tribe, in another time so strong and invincible, was weakened (40). Thus it happened that in

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40. José Cardúz: Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia /The Franciscan Missions among the Infidels of Bolivia/. Barcelona, 1886. From Moreno II, pp. 248 and 249.

1875 the inhabitants of the neighboring provinces were able to give a final blow to the last segments of independent Chiriguano, subjugating them completely and obliging the defeated factions who refused to submit to disperse into other lands, some of them taking refuge in the Chaco among the Toba and Tapieté (40) /see footnote 40 above/. Nevertheless, this was not the final fight between the Chiriguano and the whites, as Cardúz supposed in 1885. A part of the Chiriguano in 1890 attempted one last rebellion against the Bolivians. About 5,000 Indians gathered on the Boynove plain near Curuyuqui, fought for a whole day against the Bolivians, who were assisted by some thousand Indians of the same tribe. At nightfall the heated battle had not yet been decided, but in the /11/ night the Indians lost their spirit in the face of the superiority of modern arms and left their trenches (41). Also,

41. Nord. 1, p. 168.

after this defeat one of the caciques, named Cayahari, preferred to take flight rather than surrender to the Bolivians. They say that he settled in the area of a large lake far from the whites (42).

42. Nord. 1, p. 161.

/11 cont./

C. Gi 175 178 167 The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so important for their future fate and culture, during which they emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C 178 [126] The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. Gh 171 174 C As we have already said, the question of the influences on Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

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43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

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Chiriguano and Chané no longer exist. "The physiognomy of the latter was completely identical to that of the former" (45).

45. Moreno II, p. 254.

In addition to anthropological measurements made on four Chiriguano by Ten Kate (46), Robert Lehmann-Nitsche

46. Ten Kate. Herm.: "Matériaux pour servir à l'antropologie des indiens de la République Argentine /Materials for use for the anthropology of the Indians of the Argentine Republic/." Revista del Museo de la Plata. Vol. 12. La Plata. 1904.

in 1906 had the opportunity at the San Pedro de Jujui sugar mill to take the anthropological measurements of 40 Chiriguano men and ten women, who had come from Bolivia to work at that mill. Entitled "Estudios antropológicos sobre los Chiriguanos, /Pl. III-IV appear here/ /13/ Chorotes, Matacos, y Tobas (Chaco Occidental)" (47), Lehmann-Nitsche has

47. Anales del Museo de La Plata, Vol. I, No. 2, (Second Series). Buenos Aires, 1908.

published the results of these measurements, together with measurements of other Indians, and added to that publication in the first 12 plates Chiriguano types photographed by Carlos Bruch. In addition to the somatic measurements, determination of skin color, eye color, and hair color and form have been published by Lehmann-Nitsche. Thirty-six of the 40 Chiriguano men stated where they had lived, and from this we know that these people had come from various regions of Chiriguano territory to the San Pedro sugar mill. There were some who had come from the northern regions, and one had come from the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Others had come from the south of Chiriguano territory, for example, from the town of Carapati, located considerably to the south of the Pilcomayo River. There are named 13 Chiriguano

[Text Continues on P. 30]

/13 cont./

166 towns from which one man had come from each one. From Charagua, Parapití, and Carapati two had come from each one, four from Ingre, five from Santa Rosa, and eight from Machareti. Unfortunately, the native soil of the Chiriguano women was not stated, and it is only said that they came from Bolivia.

141 The average height of the Chiriguano men measured by Lehmann-Nitsche is 163.4 cm., and the height of the Chiriguano women measured is 151.7 cm. This average height of the women measured is not a little less. The average height of the eight men from Machareti was only 161.8 cm., and that of the two men from Parapití only 158.1 cm. But the average height of the four men from Ingre was 169.15 cm. The tallest of the Chiriguano men measured, who had a height of 178.6 cm., had come from Ingre, and the shortest, with a height of 153.5 cm., from Machareti. The smallest woman (between 35 and 40 years old) was only 143.0 cm., and the tallest, 158.0 cm. These numbers show us that the height of different Chiriguano individuals is quite variable. Among the Chiriguano measured by Lehmann-Nitsche, the number of those who came from the same region is too small to be able to make exact deductions about the differences in height of the Chiriguano of the various regions in order to be able to clearly demonstrate the somatic influence of mixture with other tribes.

14 The photographs of Chiriguano types published by Lehmann-Nitsche show great variations among the different features and bodies, which corresponds to the fact that the present-day Chiriguano are the product of a mixture of various ethnic elements.

● 113 114 142 Good photographs of the Chiriguano of the southern part of their territory can be found in the publication of von Rosen, Ethnographical Research Work during the Swedish Chaco-Cordillera Expedition, 1901-1902 (48). Erland von Nordenskiöld

48. Stockholm. 1924.

113 /13 cont./
114 has published Chiriguano and Chané types (49).
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49. Erland Nordenskiöld: Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerica /Inquiry and Adventure in South America/. Stockholm, 1915. Ills. 14-16; 20 and 31. Nord. I. Figs. 75, 76, 79, 87, 106, 110, 111, 112, 116, 132, and Pl. 18-2 /the second figure of this number in the twenties is illegible/.

The Territory of the Chiriguano

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131 Concerning the location and extent of the territory of the Chiriguano at the time of their independence, that is, from the beginning of the 16th century to the second half of the 19th century, we have Moreno's detailed studies in two places in his work already cited many times above, the titles
C of which are: "Las tierras de los Chiriguanos /The lands of
[101] the Chiriguano/" (50). According to Moreno (51), the

50. Moreno II, pp. 79-126 and pp. 235-254.

51. Moreno II, p. 236.

Chiriguano--Chiriguano /14/ of the Cordillera in contrast to the Itatines-Guarayus and the Piritaguaris also often called Chiriguano in the literature -- from the time of the Conquest until they lost their independence inhabited the same territory, that is, the western spurs of the Andes from south of the Pilcomayo up to the lands which extend on both sides of the
Ce Guapay. The Chané, who formerly had a large well-populated
13 territory, "although they formed several partial migrations,
[648] remained in great number subject to the conquering Guaraní within the region which these latter had converted into their impregnable abode" (52). In 1883 Father Alejandro Corrado

52. Moreno II, p. 249.

/14 cont./

131 without our having any information on their stopping place. [563] [797] Some Chorote live in the territory of the Chiriguano, near Yacuiba, and also, without counting the missions, the whole territory has been penetrated by whites and mestizos.

131 174 According to these data given by Nordenskiöld, the territory of the Chiriguano, after their definitive subjection by the whites and up to the present time, has remained the same as that which they had at the time of their independence, except, it would seem, that they have come down more into the valleys and do not now live, as was stated in the 16th century documents, on top of the inaccessible mountains, which, as natural fortresses, offered them a secure refuge during their expeditions.

Towns and Houses

36 177 The arrangement of the towns and the form of the houses of the Chiriguano are not at the present time the primordial ones, and they have probably passed through two different transformations, one after the other, first under the influence of the architecture of Inca culture and later the architecture of the whites. /15/ According to the Annua de la Compañia de Jesús Tucumán and Peru, of the year 1596, the Chiriguano towns were composed of only a few houses that were large enough to house as many as 100 persons. In his "Descripción breve de toda la tierra del Perú, Tucuman, Río de la Plata y Chile /A Brief Description of all the Land of Peru, Tucumán, Río de la Plata, and Chile/," Father Lizarraga (56) describes the Chiriguano

36 34 62 [113]

56. Madrid, 1909. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 15. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

towns in the following way: "The largest of the towns is one of five houses: the common number is three; but they are very long, more than 150 paces, with a two-sloped roof with posts in the middle, upon which the framework is constructed, and one kin group /parentela/ lives between one post and the next one."

/15 cont./

next one." Garcilaso de la Vega (57) describes the large houses

57. Vol. II, p. 281. According to Métraux I, p. 331.

of the Chiriguano in the same way: they build a very large dormitory, and inside as many alcoves as there are residents, and so small that there is no room for anything but persons. Through detailed descriptions and sketches, we are familiar with the construction of the towns of the ancient Guaraní of the Tupinambas on the eastern coast of Brazil (58). Four or

58. According to De Bry. Métraux, A.: La civilisation matérielle des tribus Tupí-Guarani /The Material Culture of the Tupi-Guarani Tribes/. Paris, 1928.

five long, rectangular houses were built a short distance from one another around a quadrangular or pentagonal plaza, and the whole town was fortified by a defensive wall. We also know that the ancient towns of the Chiriguano had such defensive constructions through information from the year 1618, when Ruiz Diaz de Guzman found such a fortification of a Chiriguano town near the Pilcomayo River, which consisted of "two concentric walls of stone and of wood" (59). According

59. Moreno II, p. 252.

to Serrano (60), the Guaraní towns of the ancient Province of

60. Antonio Serrano: Etnografía de la antigua provincia del Uruguay /Etnography of the Ancient Province of Uruguay/, Paraná, 1936, p. 125 /the second number of this figure is questionable, being barely discernible in the original text/.

Uruguay consisted of only four to eight large rectangular houses.

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342 171 "In 1627 the Jesuits found near Yapeyú a Guaraní aldea with four houses in which some 100 Indians lived. They found identical dwellings in San Ignacio and nearby regions. These houses were quadrangular and extremely long, often in excess of 50 meters."

361 177 178 Even during the time of their independence the Chiriguano had departed from the primordial construction of their towns, which had served in the first place for defense, since at the end of the 18th century Viedma describes their houses as "a few small ranchos made of cane" (61).

● [113] 61. Viedma, Francisco de: Descripción de la provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra /Description of the Province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra/. Colección Angelis, Vol. 3, Buenos Aires, 1836, written 1793, p. 181. Cited by Nordenskiöld.

000 Photographs of Chiriguano Towns (ténta) and Houses (o)

I.C. 353. Chiriguano town, Machareti (Fig. 1).
I.C. 355. Scene in the town of Machareti (Fig. 17).
I.C. 356. Chiriguano in front of their house in Machareti (Fig. 14).
I.C. 357. Chiriguano storehouse in Machareti (Fig. 16).
I.C. 358. Chiriguano boys in front of their rancho in Machareti (Fig. 15).

361 [197] [363] [177] [343] The Chiriguano town of Machareti was built in its present form by Franciscan missionaries, with wide, parallel, and right-angled streets, following the common form of old Spanish colonies, since their construction is not a product of the indigenous Chiriguano culture. But in parts, the houses and primarily the maize storehouses built on posts, correspond to the houses of other Chiriguano towns, on which we have information from Erland Nordenskiöld and Eric v. Rosen (62).

62. Nord. 1, pp. 173, 176. Nord. 2, pp. 1-3. Eric v. Rosen, op. cit., pp. 191 and 192, Figs. 188-192.

343 /17 cont./ Nor could it be that they adopted this from
[177] the whites, because in those regions they have never used houses built on posts. Neither do we have any indications
[176] that the ancient Peruvians had such houses. It is very unlikely that the Chiriguano settled in their new territory might have invented the construction of such houses, because the nature of their territory did not render such a form of construction necessary. In South America we find houses built on posts
343 171 almost solely in regions exposed to floods. Thus we mainly find them in the coastal regions of the northern part of the South American continent, and they appear to the south of the Amazon River only in a relatively narrow zone in the center of the continent including Chiriguano territory. According to Marban in 1676 (71), the Mojo had houses built on posts and

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71. Marban, Pedro: "Relación de la Provincia de la Virgen del Pilar de Mojos /Report on the Province of the Virgen del Pilar de Mojos/," Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de La Paz, Bolivia, 1898, p. 132. According to Nordenskiöld.

doubtless such house constructions were quite useful in those marshy and often flooded regions. In addition Nordenskiöld during his travels (72) found one of these houses serving as a

72. Nord. 2, p. 3.

storehouse among the Chacobo, who live north of the Mojo not very far away. Some of the Quichua /Quechua/ houses located between the Chaparé River and the Cochabamba River had been built on posts, but Nordenskiöld himself does not consider this architecture to have been primordial among them. Of the Chaco tribes who have storehouses built on posts Nordenskiöld mentions the Matako /Mataco/. I found such storehouses in the Matako town near Linares, but many of them also in the Churupí installations in Esteros. Nordenskiöld in his publications on the Churupí, whom he calls the Ashluslay, does not

M Schmidt--43 E-6 (1930) 1908 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Guato SF15
Chané SF8

C 343 191 /17 cont./

mention the existence of such storehouses among these Indians, and thus we must suppose that the Chiripá adopted this style of house construction only recently and probably from the Matako, with whom they have many contacts. /18/ To complete the data on the spread of houses built on posts, I shall also mention my observations on my expeditions of 1901 and 1910 to the Guató (19). Inside many houses, under the roof

C 343 191 G8 343 352 (14) C 68 (13)

19. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien /Indian Studies in Central Brazil/, Berlin, 1904, p. 178.

and using long horizontal poles, these Indians build a platform which serves for storing various things. In this special arrangement of the Guató in building their houses, we find the rudiment of the true houses built on posts, and this is motivated by the great floods to which they were exposed even when they had been built in places higher than the marshy lands.

G6 (82)

We should not consider houses built on posts as a product of the primordial culture of the Chaco tribes. It leaves as the only center of its propagation the zone in the interior of the South American continent which we have mentioned, the center of the ancient culture of the Arauco /Arawak/ of these regions, the territory of the Mojo. The Chané, who were later subjugated by the Chiriguano and incorporated into their community, also belonged to this Arauco culture. We must thus surmise that houses built on posts, like those we still find today among the Chiriguano and some of the Chané, first originated in the Chané culture and later passed to the Chiriguano when the cultures of these two tribes were fused into a single one.

C 343 193 194 Ce 343 124 171

No doubt the special construction of these storehouses has a different purpose today among the Chiriguano and the Chané than it had in the beginning. According to Nordenskiöld, the Chané of the lower Paraguá River, which is a typically marshy region, do not have such houses, while they are common among the Chiriguano and also among the former who live on solid ground not exposed to floods. Their purpose

C Ce 343 (82)

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St Schmidt--07 S-6 (1930) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

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Naturvölkern Zentralbrasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/. Berlin. 1896. p. 396.

Peruvians (100). Nordenskiöld and Métraux show such

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100. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/. Berlin. 1929. p. 436.

Chiriguano benches in drawings (101).

101. Nord. 1. Fig. 85. Métraux 1. pp. 471 and 472 and Fig. 129.

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Painting and Deformations of the Body

As the use of clothing has increased among the Chiriguano and Chané, the custom of painting or tattooing the body has naturally lost importance and the remnants of such customs are too few to be able to say what they were in the past. Nor do we have data on this. I often saw Chiriguano and Izozó women and girls paint themselves with urucú, making colored spots on their faces. According to Nordenskiöld, men and women sometimes paint their faces, as well as their bodies, with red paint (102). Nordenskiöld also found tattooing on

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102. Nord. 1. p. 303.

the arms of some women and one Chiriguano man (103). The

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103. Nord 1. p. 303. Nord. 2. p. 83. Fig. 37.

custom of dyeing the teeth with dark blue was found by

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Viedma among the Chiriguano men (104), and Nordenskiöld

104. Viedma: Descripción de la Provincia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Colección Angelis, Vol. 3. Buenos Aires, 1936. Written 1793. Page 181. According to Nordenskiöld.

found it among the women in the valley of Caipipendi (105).

105. Nord. 2, p. 85.

The latter used for that the leaves of a plant that they call "tajú" (tayú = lapacho).

With respect to body deformations we can suppose that it was once a common custom among the Chané and Chiriguano to wear a "tembetá" in the pierced lower lip. Of the Guaraní of ancient times it has been stated that the men had this tembetá, and the custom is confirmed by prehistoric finds (106).

106. Cf. Antonio Serrano, op. cit., p. 122.

The form, material, and dimensions of these tembetá were varied and varied regionally. What was the shape of the tembetá that the Guaraní had when at the beginning of the 16th century they emigrated to the spurs of the Cordillera? We do not know. Neither do we know whether or not the Chané had the tembetá when they were enslaved by the Chiriguano. We can assume that the metal tembetás of the Chiriguano and the Chané in their present form have their origin in the period after their contacts with the ancient Peruvians. /24/ since they did not know the technique of working metal and even today most of their tembetás are made by nearby mestizos or whites, who make them to their taste. According to Chomé's (107)

107. "Lettre du père Ignace Chomé." Lettres édifiantes et curieuses. New edition, Vol. 8, Paris, 1781, p. 326. According to Nordenskiöld 2, p. 73.

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412 Because of this change the implement for plucking hair, con-
301 sisting of small tweezers, formerly very common, has naturally
302 lost a great part of its importance today, and similarly, in its
178 transformed state as a chest ornament, it is rarer. I found such tweezers among the Mataco and the Churupí. Unfortunately I did not succeed in acquiring such tweezers or the corresponding chest ornament, called "boivera" also by the Chiriguano. Nordenskiöld describes these tweezers in detail (131),

131. Nord. 2, pp. 81 and 82.

and he adds that the Chiriguano also use small sticks of cane to pluck out hair.

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412 The form of these tweezers made of metal corresponds to
301 that of the tweezers known through finds made in the burials of
171 the ancient Peruvians. Today these tweezers are normally made of any piece of tin plate or sheet iron, which, when provided with a cord, they use for chest ornaments, besides their original purpose. This custom of using tweezers as a chest ornament was very common among the ancient Peruvians. Among the latter's necklaces there are many that, apart from other things, consist of silver tweezers. It was customary among the ancient Peruvians that these enlarged tweezers, unsuitable for their original purpose, be transformed into a pure and distinctive ornament. The Museum of Ethnography in Berlin has such ornaments in the form of depilatory tweezers, made
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301 of copper, silver, or gold, in great number, one example of
[174] which is 52 centimeters in length (132). Therefore I suppose

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132. Cf. Max Schmidt: Kunst und Kultur von Peru, Berlin, 1929, pp. 83, 369, 397, and 399.

we must deduce that the Chiriguano custom of using as a chest ornament a silver ornament in the form of one of those tweezers is due to ancient Peruvian influence. There are several specimens of the "boiveras," now rare and doubtless most of the time carefully kept from the view of the whites, in

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European museums. These are not made by the Chiriguano themselves, but by their mestizo neighbors and sold to the Indians. The external form is still that of tweezers, much enlarged. But the boivera of today, discounting its size, also cannot be used for plucking hair because the two parts /30/ of its lower edge have been soldered. The fact that the decoration of the surface is not still primordial is explained by the fact that the Chiriguano are not the makers of these ornaments.

Clothing and Adornment

From the 16th century we have the brief description of the Chiriguano by Bishop Lizarraga (133) where, among other

133. Lizarraga: "Descripción et población de las Indias /Description and population of the Indies/." In Moreno II, p. 101.

things, it is said: "They go about naked or at the most sometimes have a short shirt /camisatilla/ down to the navel." We can assume that this statement by the Bishop as of that time refers only to the Chiriguano men, because it is likely that by the time of their immigration the Chiriguano women were wearing a garment which covered their genital organs, as we know the Guaraní women of the ancient Province of Uruguay did (134). It is likely that this garment had the same form as

134. Serrano, op. cit., pp. 123 and 124.

the "tipoy," which is a garment in the form of a poncho without sewing and which even today is very common among Chiriguano and Chané women, as well as among various other Indian tribes of South America.

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526 Nordenskiöld did not see the Chiriguano of the Sierra play the game in which the ball is hit with the head, but he did hear it said that formerly they had played this game, called "bondi" by them, and that, like the Chané, they had 526 171 used solid rubber balls (153). In my work published in this

153. Nord. 2, p. 104.

journal (154), I have already mentioned that, according to the

• [113] 154. Revista de la Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay, Vol. III, No. 6, pp. 116 and 117.

Litterae Annuae of 1589 (155), the game with a ball hit with

155. Page 434. According to Nordenskiöld.

the head was also played by the Itatines-Guarayús and undoubtedly with a hollow rubber ball, because it is described there as being very light. In 1791 Eder (156) mentions this game

[113] 156. Eder, Franc. Xav.: Descriptio provinciae Moxitarum /Description of the province of the Mojo/, 1791, p. 41. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

with a ball hit with the head for the Moxos /Mojo/, who not only used white, hollow rubber balls, but also used dark, solid ones. Several authors, older ones, and more recent ones, for example, Fernandez and de Orbigny, mention this game among the Chiquito (157). Nordenskiöld on his travels saw it

157. Nord. 2, p. 104.

played in addition to the Chané, by the Huari (158).

158. Nord. 2, p. 104.

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/48 cont./ Eric V. Rosen has also shown numerous Chiriguano vessels in drawings in his work already cited (219).

219. V. Rosen. Figs. 218-225.

Métraux describes and shows by drawings a great number of Chiriguano baked clay vessels (220).

220. Métraux 1, pp. 370-374; pp. 382-428; Plates 16-19 and 24-60.

A publication by Felix F. Outes deals particularly with Chiriguano ceramics (221).

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221. Felix F. Outes: La ceramica Chiriguana /Chiriguano Ceramics/." From the Revista del Museo de la Plata, Vol. XVI (second series, Vol. III), Buenos Aires, 1909, pp. 121-136.

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Because formerly in the museum of the Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay we had only four baked clay vessels and a piece of a handle from the Chiriguano, which Doña Maria F. de Casati collected among them and presented to the museum, I had a special interest in filling this gap. With some effort I managed to acquire from the Izozó in Toledo 41 Chiriguano vessels, and from the Chiriguano in Machareti, 55 of them, and with rather more effort I managed to bring them back whole and with their designs in good condition through the long trip to Asunción.

These baked clay vessels collected by me also show great variation in their form and ornamentation. But these diverse variations can be reduced to several groups, according to the purpose for which they were intended.

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The Chiriguano and Chané baked clay vessels may serve very different ends:

1. To cook foods and liquids.
2. To fry /fritar, literally "to frit"/ foods.
3. To steam maize meal.
4. To carry and keep water.

8: Schmidt--137 E-5 (1935) 1938 SF10 Chiriguano SF10
Chané SF8
Izozo

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point out here a difference between the baked clay whorls of the Izozó and those of the Chiriguano with regard to their manufacture. The whorls of the latter are made of pieces of clay from any broken vessel, by filing them round and perforating them in the center, while the whorls of the Izozó consist of a small disk with different variations in form, also perforated in the center, but made of baked clay especially for that purpose.

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Concerning the pottery technique of the Chiriguano and the Chané, we are well instructed by the data given by Nordenskiöld, S. Linné, Métraux (236), and Campana (237).

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236. Nord. 1, pp. 244 and 245. S. Linné: The Technique of South American Ceramics, Göteborg, 1925. Métraux 1, pp. 382-388.

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237. Campana (Doménico del), "Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani /Information concerning the Chiriguano/," Archiv per l'antroopologia e la etnologia, Florence, Vol. 32 (1902), p. 382.

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Especially noteworthy among these is the description of the manufacture of baked clay vessels by the Chané on the Itiyuru River, which Nordenskiöld studied in its entire procedure. In the book written by Linné, entitled The Technique of South American Ceramics, we find, in addition to the systematic arrangement of the observations made by Nordenskiöld among the Chiriguano and Chané, important data on the results of chemical analyses and microscopic observations which Linné made on the vessels of these Indians. According to this information, the procedure for manufacturing these vessels is the following:

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The first condition for the manufacture of baked clay vessels is the availability of suitable clay which has sufficient plasticity so that the vessel can be modeled and fired without being broken. Only a clay with special qualities can meet

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these two requirements. Generally it is necessary to correct the defects of the available clay, fixing it by the addition of other substances. Thus the Chiriguano and Chané add to the clay pieces of crushed baked clay. The Chiriguano women in Tarapayu like to use as such an additive, which they call "takupe," pieces of baked clay of ancient origin which they find in great number in their territory and which substance also contains, according to microscopic investigation, pieces of baked clay added to the clay (238).

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238. S. Linné, op. cit., p. 36, Fig. 2, and p. 70. Nordenskiöld, Erland: Forskningar och äventyr i Sydamerika /Research and Adventure in South America/, Stockholm, 1915, p. 34. Nord. 1, p. 284.

From the quality of the substance of a baked clay vessel of the Chané of the Parapití which is in the Göteborg museum, it turns out that these Indians also add sand to the clay, in addition to pieces of crushed baked clay (239). By microscopic

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239. S. Linné, op. cit., p. 33.

analyses of sections of vessels, Linné was able to demonstrate /55/ that pieces of baked clay were added to the clay of the Chiriguano. As a result of these analyses, he points out the following: "Microscopic section analysis of Chiriguano ceramics have shown the materials to contain, besides small quartz grains and larger grains of other minerals, particles of the same colour as the ground-mass, but with distinct outlines. These are due to ground potsherds. There are also some very dark particles, as well as lighter ones, and they, too, are potsherds. The variation as to colour is due to the vessels often in the firing, becoming quite differently coloured in their outer and inner layers" /cited in English/ (240).

240. S. Linné, op. cit., pp. 37 and 68.

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I.A. 711.	Spindle	(Izozó).	Lgth.	36.2	cm.	Clay whorl,	dia.	4.3 cm.
(Fig. 90g)								
I.A. 712.	"	"	"	33.5	cm.	"	"	4.2 cm.
I.A. 713.	"	"	"	43.5	cm.	"	"	4.2 cm.
(Fig. 90h)								
I.A. 714.	"	"	"	46	cm.	"	"	4 cm.
I.A. 715.	"	"	"	43.5	cm.	"	"	3.8 cm.
I.A. 716.	"	"	"	41	cm.	"	"	3.8 cm.
(Fig. 85c)								
I.A. 717.	"	"	"	42.5	cm.	"	"	3.5 cm.
I.A. 718.	"	"	"	36	cm.	"	"	3.3 cm.
I.A. 719.	"	"	"	36.5	cm.	"	"	3.7 cm.
I.A. 720.	"	"	"	41.2	cm.	"	"	4.4 cm.
(Fig. 90f)								
I.A. 721.	"	"	"	34.5	cm.	"	"	3.7 cm.
(Fig. 90d)								
I.A. 722.	"	"	"	38.5	cm.	"	"	3.3 cm.
(Fig. 90e)								
I.A. 723.	"	"	"	40.5	cm.	"	"	3.5 cm.
I.A. 724.	"	"	"	51	cm.	"	"	4 cm.
(Figs. 85a and 90a)								

C Ce 283 171

The spindles that I obtained from the Chiriguano and Izozó are the type of spindle, very common among the Indians of South America, that Nordenskiöld calls "Bakairí type" in contrast to the "Bororo type," this nomenclature being based on the first description of these two types of spindles by Carl von den Steinen, who found them among the Bakairí /Bacairi/ on the one hand and among the Bororó on the other (258). In contrast with the

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258. Carl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Primitive Peoples of Central Brazil/, Berlin, 1894, pp. 238 and 488. Nord. 2, p. 196. Otto Frödin and Erland Nordenskiöld, Zwirnen und Spinnen bei Indianern Südamerikas /Twining and

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Spinning among South American Indians/, Göteborg, 1910.

"Bororo type," the "Bacairí type" of spindle is held in a vertical position when used for spinning and has a small enlargement in the form of a knob at the upper end of the stick. In spinning, the prepared thread winds around the upper piece of the stick. The material of the Chiriguano and Izozó whorls is baked clay (that of the Chiriguano, pieces of broken baked clay vessels, filed), wood, or, rarely, among the Chiriguano, stone.

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From the measurements mentioned above, it seems that the Chiriguano whorls usually have a rather larger diameter than the spindle whorls of the Izozó. The longest stick in the collection (from the Izozó) measures 54.5 cm.; the shortest (from the Chiriguano), 25.5 cm.

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As I have already mentioned, all the sticks of the Chiriguano and Izozó spindles are fitted at the upper end with an enlargement in the form of a knob. Most of the spindle sticks in addition have an enlargement in the lower part, directly under the place where the whorl is put, so as to prevent the whorl from coming down the stick when the spindle is in a vertical position. Many spindles have a wrapping of cotton or raw wool directly under the whorl in order to make the whorl secure.

The form of the whorls shows many variations. I have already mentioned that the Chiriguano whorls are generally larger than those of the Izozó. They are also more uniform. The two sides of the baked clay of the Chiriguano are simply flat and smooth, which results from their origin as pieces of broken baked clay vessels to which the Chiriguano give the form of a disk by filing them and which they perforate in the center. The stone whorls of the Chiriguano /60/ and most of the wooden whorls also show the same form. But among the latter there are also some (cf. Fig. 87 /see p. 147/) which are similar to the more complicated forms of the Izozó whorls, although they differ from the latter in their greater size.

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Among the Izozó whorls only two have two flat sides like the Chiriguano whorls. The other Izozó whorls, not only those of baked clay but also the wooden ones, show great variation in

Chane SF8
Izozo
Guato SP15

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000 GO 285 171 824 GO 285 [824] of other tribes. For example, the Guató Indians make mats similar to the mat collected among the Chiriguano, as well as baskets similar to one type of basket from the Izozó, from the large pinnate leaves of the acurí palm (Cocos schizophylla Mart.). The stem or stems of these, from which go the leaflets that form the plaiting, form the upper edge of the mat or baskets. With regard to the caranday palm, it is necessary to detach the leaflets from the stem in order to place them in the position necessary for plaiting them with one another. Therefore the upper edge is formed like a braid to which the leaves are attached in order to be able to proceed to plait from this rudiment. The lower edge is also formed like a braid, which joins the free ends of the strips and terminates in two ends, one at each /62/ side, which project beyond the side edges of the mat. The mat is plaited in such a way that one strip passes two of the other group each time. The decoration is made up of simple stripes parallel to the upper edge of the mat.

C Ce 285 531 The small flat baskets of the Chiriguano and Izozó are, in general, similar in form and dimensions. These are plaited with strips of cane and, at their outer edge, have a wooden hoop. Like the mat which has been mentioned, they are plaited in such a way that one strip of one group always passes two strips of the other group, and therefore the surface shows the same ornamentation, which consists of parallel stripes and is typical of all objects plaited in this way. In this ornamentation of the flat baskets there is one difference in that on some of them the entire surface is always filled with parallel lines, all going in the same direction (cf. Fig. 546 /see p. 157/), while the decoration of most of these small baskets consists of concentric squares (cf. Fig. 92 a and b /see p. 157/) formed by the combination of four surface units, two of which show parallel lines in the direction vertical to that of the parallel lines of the other two units. With regard to the details of the formation of such decoration by the technique itself, I refer to my publications regarding this matter (262).

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262. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien /Indian Studies in Central

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Brazil/, Berlin, 1905, pp. 330 ff.; and Die technischen Voraussetzungen in der Ornamentik der Eingeborenen Südamerikas/ The Technical Bases for the Ornamentation of the Natives of South America/.

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The three sieves that I obtained from the Chiriguano correspond to the flat baskets described above with respect to their exterior form and to the rudiment of the plaiting. They differ from the latter only in that their strips are a certain distance apart and in that one strip of one group always passes only one of the other group, with the result that the ornamentation of the surface consisting of parallel lines which is shown in the little baskets is not produced. These sieves are also provided with handles like the flat baskets of the Chiriguano. A sketch of a Chané sieve shown by Nordenskiöld shows that these Indians also use such sieves (263). Flat baskets and sieves analogous to

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263. Nord. 1, Fig. 124.

those mentioned are described by Métraux and shown by him in drawings (264).

264. Métraux I, pp. 457-460, Plates 83, 84.

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The technique of the Chiriguano hat (I.A. 554) is not original, but no doubt was received from the whites and perhaps was directly taught to the Indians in the missions. For us the technique of this hat is without interest, except for the fact that this technique is also applied by the Izozó to the making of a type of basket, a specimen of which is shown in Figure 98b /see p. 158/. The manufacture of the hat begins at the center, and the strips, the beginning of which is plaited, are augmented by the addition of other strips. See Figure 99 /see p. 158/. The style of plaiting is like that of all the other objects of this kind among the Chiriguano and Chané, so that one strip of one group always passes two strips of the other group.

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The technique of the small bag I. A. 512, which has a cover and corresponds in form to a modern cigar case, is of no interest to us, because this is a product of modern manufacture.

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Baskets I. A. 551 (of the Chiriguano) and I. A. 677 (of the Izozó) are of special interest because they represent the product of a new era in which the primordial devices of the technique have been forgotten and therefore they have lost the typical forms of the products of those techniques. The making of this

C 285 171

type of basket, which is widespread among the Indian tribes of South America, begins with the making of the bottom and ends at the upper edge of the basket where the free ends of the strips are /63/ fastened. If we compare the structure of the bottom of these Chiriguano baskets with the structure of corresponding baskets of other tribes of South American Indians, such as with the structure of the baskets of the Bacairí on the tributaries of the Xingú River (Mato Grosso, Brazil) or of the tribes of the Rio Negro, our attention is drawn to the great difference with respect to the conformity of the work. In my above-mentioned

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publications (265) I have described this kind of basket in more

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265. Max Schmidt: Indianerstudien, loc. cit.; and Die technischen Veraussetzungen, pp. 157 and 158.

detail, and I have demonstrated that the special design which appears in two variations on the bottom of most of the baskets of this kind that are not yet degenerate is consistent with the technique, because only a bottom decorated in this way can be a proper beginning in order to form the walls of the basket. Moreover, there is the difficulty that for the fabrication of the four walls of one of these baskets one needs twice as many strips as the number of the free ends which come out of the plaited square or rectangle which forms the bottom of the basket.

C Ce 285

Therefore, the Indians who still know exactly how to plait these baskets plait in the beginning a flat rectangular piece twice as large as the projected bottom of the basket. Then the four edges of this rectangle are folded upward, in this

C 273 /78 cont./ removed from the pot, chewed up and well mixed with saliva, is then mixed back in with the rest. Then it is strained and ferments in large open pots, at moderate heat. By means of C [412] [237] large wooden spatulas or mammals' shoulder blades fitted with wooden handles, the mash is stirred in the pot. We find a more detailed description of this process in the publication by Métraux (287).

287. Métraux I, pp. 365-369.

C Ce 251 The Preservation of Foodstuffs

Concerning the method of preserving foodstuffs, we know that the Chiriguano and Chané dry fish for future use, when fish are abundant (288). According to Niño (289), formerly meat

288. Nord. 1, p. 189.

C ● [113] 289. Niño, F. Bernardino de: Etnografía Chiriguana, La Paz, 1912, pp. 249 and 250. According to Métraux.

from hunting was preserved for the great fiestas by drying it in the sun, without using salt. Even today, when a bovine animal is slaughtered, part of the meat is preserved by drying it in the sun (290).

290. Métraux I, p. 356.

C Ce 501 ooo Transport

The Chiriguano and Chané, in contrast to the Itatines-Guarayús, do not have boats (291). Concerning means of

291. Nord. 1, p. 186.

C /80 cont./
534 edge, puts forward against Nordenskiöld's deductions his opinion
174 that the ancient Peruvian objects of this form might originally
177 have been flutes and that they might have been used only ex-
ceptionally, in the event of necessity or only secondarily, as
C balance beams. Among the objects of this kind in the ancient
[114] Peruvian collection of the museum in Berlin so many specimens
C clearly show that they are balance beams that I cannot say that
[177] I agree with this opinion by V. Rosen (301). We must agree

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• [113]

301. Cf. Max Schmidt, Kunst und Kultur von Peru /Art and Culture of Peru/, p. 99, fig. p. 544, N. 8-10.

with V. Nordenskiöld's opinion that these wooden objects used by the ancient Peruvians as balance beams may have been accepted by the Chiriguano, not as balance beams, because the Chiriguano did not have the need to weigh anything, but as flutes. We must mention that with this kind of flute, open at both ends, two different sounds can be produced, depending upon whether the lower hole is left open or is closed with the finger.

The two Chiriguano flutes made of cane have six holes for varying the sound and one hole, at one side, for the mouth. C Cf. Figure 39a /see Fig. 34a, p. 89/. Nordenskiöld, who shows Ce such a flute in a drawing (302), is of the opinion that the 534 177 171

302. Nord. 2, Fig. 36 A.

Chiriguano and Chané received this kind of flute from the mestizos or whites, because such flutes provided with a hole at one side for the mouth do not exist among the other Indians of South America or among the ancient Peruvians.

726 /88 cont./
712 King was (354). Their towns, described in the preceding, were

354. Moreno II, p. 87.

175 fortified by blockades, in addition to their natural position. Ruiz
212 Diaz de Guzman on his expedition against the Chiriguano found
248 a town near the Pilcomayo which was fortified by two concentric blockades of stone and wood (355). We find interesting data

355. Moreno II, p. 252.

about the fortifications that the Chiriguano made during their wars in the "Relación y breve noticia de lo sucedido en la guerra de Chiriguanos que se ha hecho este año de 1729 por orden /89/ del señor Virrey y Real Audiencia de Chuquisaca por el Padre Bartholomé de Mora /Report and brief note on what happened in the Chiriguano war that took place in this year of 1729 by order of the Lord Viceroy and Royal Audiencia of Chuquisaca by Father Bartolomé de Mora/" (356). These fortifications are described

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356. Unpublished /inedito/ manuscript published /publicado/ by Professor A. Posnansky with an introduction and notes by Dr. A. Métraux. (Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad de Tucuman, Vol. II, No. I, p. 126.)

in the following way: "Continuing on their way (the Spaniards and Chiquitos), now by the light of day, at about a league they found blocking the way a very strong and well placed trench with very heavy stakes stuck in the ground, which, hewn like planks, had loopholes through which they shot arrows. Here considerable resistance was met, because the trench was very well fortified and the Indians who defended it were numerous." In another place it says: "They went on, all now being together, and they arrived at the place where the enemies had fortified themselves.... The fort was a ravine cut like a wall, which had

/90 cont./
000 preceding. I must also cite A. Métraux's publication, "Les
792 Hommes-Dieux chez les Chiriguano e dans l'Amérique de Sud
[113] Men-Gods among the Chiriguano and in South America/" (363),

363. In the Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Vol. II, No. 1, Tucumán, 1931.

in which he deals with the cases, repeated several times, in which some individuals among the Chiriguano appear as Messiahs and, acquiring many proselytes, gave the mission administrations much to do.

796 [126] Plaited Objects Used in Religious Celebrations, from the Collection

I.A. 1439. (Chiriguano) Length 70 cm. (Fig. 43b.)
I.A. 1440. " " 37 cm. (Fig. 43a.)

[171] Plaited objects like those mentioned above are also very common among the Paraguayans and made in the same way. This
796 custom of making such plaited figures and having them blessed,
797 as the Chiriguano also do, is connected with the Catholic ritual,
197 and the Chiriguano no doubt received it from the missionaries along with the other rites of the Catholic religion (364).

364. See the opposite opinion of Métraux I, p. 462.

532 The masks that the Chiriguano make to carry during the Carnival
[529] fiestas are also modern objects. Some such Chiriguano masks are shown in drawings by Nordenskiöld and Métraux (365).

365. Nord. 1, Fig. 119. Métraux I, Plate 86 and Fig. 121.